used to denote the Ezo chiefs and from once having the same meaning as a commander came to be used merely in the sense of a village headman. *Hokkai Zuihitsu* says, "The chief of an Ezo village is called *Otona* which is the same as village chief on the mainland. Orders to the *Otona* from the Matsumae may be carried out with authority since the Ezo all obey the *Otona*." Here we have a main problem in controlling the Ezo. The Japanese stake in the relationship lay in trade. The Matsumae stake also lay in trade but in a peaceful trade and a trade to the advantage of the Japanese. Since even before the 1669 revolt it had been necessary that the Ezo be dominated only in the trade aspect, there was no need, after that revolt, when the main interest was still peaceful trade, that the Matsumae system should undergo a sudden change. What was to happen was that as political control increased so did suppression. The system was basically the same as in the days of Kazizaki Suehiro. The chief of a village was the *Otona* who ruled under the head *Otona* who in turn was appointed by the Matsumae and through whom the orders of the Matsumae came. In this system the *Otona* was a chief or man of influence elected according to the custom of the Ezo. From the *Mōjin Seia Dan* [Remarks of an ignorant man on the Ezo]:

> From early days it was the custom of the Ezo not to appoint their chief but to give the title of chief to him who was recommended by all the people and who was usually the richest man in the village looking after his fellow villagers. In this manner disputes were avoided.[36]

In Ezo, from very early times, they never had a general leader but in each village there was a leader similar to a headman in Japan who rules the village. Although some consideration was given to blood relationship those with power naturally became the leader. Recently the Matsumae gave Tobitake instructions on how to rule his people. Tobitake had with him 200 followers and was told that any rebellious Ezo under his control were to be reported immediately to the Matsumae while the chief, in the presence of an official and an interpreter was to gather the rebels and deliver punishment.

These above quotations are good examples of Matsumae policy after 1669.

There may be some misunderstanding of this system because of the fact that the native ruler was selected from among those Ezo elected by their own people but this is cleared up by a passage from the *SGM:* "In Ezo those who were respected were not necessarily those of noble birth nor of rich family but those of good character. Even for personal matters men of good character were called upon." After the death of Tobitake, a chief of east Ezo who lived in Shikotso and was equal to chief Chikomotain of Shiriuchi, the Matsumae appointed Chibeka of the same village as his successor.[37]

[36] *Seikai* (The World), No. 91: 68.

[37] "Key men in Ezo,
West Ezo—the head man is Matabe of Ishikari.
East Ezo—Tobitake was chief but after his death ten years ago Chibeka of the same village is acting as chief since Tobitake's son is underage." *Matsumae Ezo Ki.*

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From the standpoint of an attitude toward the natives, the Matsumae clan took a non-interference policy and was not aggressive while the contract merchants, who were the actual possessors of power, driven by the desire for profit and oblivious to the interest, happiness, or humanity of the Ezo, restricted freedom and established a despotism equivalent to a slave system. And the passivity of the Matsumae was an acknowledgment of this merchant power and attitude. Unlike the colonial history of the West in its early period no such cruel method as extermination was undertaken. The reason for this as explained in Chapter II of Part two may be our national character, the benevolence of Buddhism, and the principles of royal rule derived from China, but fundamentally it was because the Ezo, being a peaceful people, did no harm to the Japanese and were, in fact, vitally necessary to the mainlanders.

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PART TWO

THE EARLY PERIOD OF DIRECT CONTROL By The Japanese Government

I. THE REASONS FOR THE ASSUMPTION OF DIRECT CONTROL

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It was not until this second period, that of direct control by the Bakufu which began in 1799, that the central government recognized the importance of a policy of control over Hokkaidō and its residents and began to consider such a policy and that a great deal of discussion took place about Ainu policy and procedures. As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, the transition from a commercial to an exploited colony was a logical one, but the factor that so rapidly made Ezo a problem was one of foreign relations, for there had appeared a competitor for colonial power in Ezo-land, and this appearance was to bring into existence a more proper way of government in Ezo—the direct control of the Bakufu. Let us examine this.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN COLONIZATION

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It was early in the thirteenth century that our country was introduced to Europe as "Jipangry" [Zipangu]. It was an exaggerated introduction which told of an island "abounding in gold and limitless in its resources"[1] but it stirred the gambling spirit of Europeans and it initiated a colonial venture by those Europeans who were active during the Renaissance and who were antagonized by the Turkish monopoly of the Eastern trade. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese arrived in our country and then Japan, which had been peacefully isolated from the world in a corner of the Orient, came into the stream of world history. From that time on the threat of foreign countries gradually encircled our country. The first introduction of the Ezo region (Hokkaidō) to Europe was probably made in the letters[2] to colleagues in China and India of Luis Frois who had been engaged in missionary work in Kyōtō and Ōsaka starting in 1565, some twenty-three years after the first Portuguese ship entered Tanegashima in 1543. These letters soon attracted the attention of other evangelists for they spoke of that custom of the Ainu, similar to Christianity, of attaching crosses to clothes and burying the dead. Ezo-land became a favorite place to send people to spread the gospel and a great deal of effort went into the attempt to make converts in that region.[3] While these attempts were

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[1] Uriu Tora trans. and ed., *Maruko Poro Kikō* (Travels of Marco Polo), 418.

[2] Murakami Naojirō, trans., Yasokaishi Nihon Tsūshin (Christian Correspondence from Japan), *Ikoku Sōsho* [Collection of Materials on Foreign Lands] 1: 192.

[3] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity to Ezo), in Sapporo Hōsō Kyoku ed., *Hokkaidō Kyōdoshi kenkyū* (Studies in the history of Hokkaidō), 222.

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tion of the Matsumae and prove the points made by Hayashi. Mogami Tokunai who played an eminent role in the investigation of 1786 also put forth the urgent need for an assimilation policy and in his *Ezo Sōshi* he criticizes the Matsumae as follows:

> As mentioned in the previous chapter entrance into Ezo was restricted. Nevertheless, many Russians have entered the island and are practicing their laws and regulations there. They have treated the Ezo fairly and offered guidance so that the natives have come to accept the customs and ways of life of the Russians. The attempt of the Matsumae to prohibit entry to Ezo is futile because the island is too big. The time has come for our country to open the door to aliens.

Honda Toshiaki who had studied about Ezo under the guidance of Mogami Tokunai further developed this argument and is the most conspicuous figure among those advocating the colonization of Ezo. He notes that one of the four most important steps in restoring the Japanese economy would be to develop the islands attached to the mainland as fortresses against an enemy thus adding to both our national product and our national power. He emphasizes the development of Hokkaidō. He does not mean merely the cultivation of the land over a large area. He states that it is most important to treat the natives benevolently.

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> If the people on the island are still living in holes dug in the ground they should be taught to live in houses. We could even go so far as to build one for the chief. Whatever materials they lack we should furnish and this is true in every phase. If they are thus treated there is no doubt that they will come to trust and rely upon you as would a child on his parents. After all, their sentiments are as human as anyone else's.[1]

This benevolence according to Toshiaki was not to be merely a political matter. He says that, if the natives are well treated,

> they too in return would wish to repay us. The products they offer would be the first step toward taxation. . . . It is a wise way to govern that the natives be taught to work hard without idling away their time. This is an essential in governing.[2] [But] In Japan no policy has yet been decided upon and it is forbidden to send cereals there. Knives are not allowed nor are the natives permitted to use the Japanese language and there are many other prohibitions. This policy of keeping the people ignorant and uncivilized is a most regrettable one. The policy of Muscovy is to give the natives what they want even if it means a little sacrifice, so naturally the natives in Ezo and the other islands have a deep respect for and reliance upon them.[3]

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The latitude of Matsumae is 40° North and it has the same climate as Peking in China. Therefore, whatever is raised in Peking could be grown also in Ezo. The circumference of the island is approximately 1000 ri and, if the entire island were well developed, it would have a productive capacity equal to that of Japan and, if these

[1] Keisai Hisaku Hoi (Successful administration, supplement), *Nihon Keizai Sōsho* **12**: 83.
[2] *Ibid.*, 83.
[3] *Ibid.*, 84–85.

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indeed had even seemed indifferent. Many Bakufu officials had been proposing direct control for West Ezo.[36] Then it became known that in 1806 Russians had landed in Karafuto and had looted, destroyed houses, and taken both guards and Ezo as prisoners. This was the period when the Bakufu was losing its enthusiasm for managing Ezo and it was the local Magistracy in Matsumae which, upon news of the incident, turned its attention to Karafuto and developed a Russian policy.[35] While the management of Karafuto was not as active as that of Ezo, nevertheless, considerable attention was devoted to that area because of the Russian situation. Most noteworthy was the regulation of the Santan trade.[a] The Ezo of Karafuto had engaged for many years in trade with the Japanese, the Ezo of Hokkaidō, the Santan, and the Orokko. Important among the goods traded were Chinese wares, which came into Japan from the Santan and Orokko. These goods consisted of old clothes in the form of *Dangiri* [brocades], commonly called *Jittoku*; brocade and cotton goods known as *Karamomen* [cotton drill], and ornamental beads called *Karafutodama* [Karafuto jewels]. They were traded for marten, fox, or otter skin caught by the Ezo or for rice, yeast, or iron goods from Japan.[38] This was a constant trade which exercised a considerable cultural influence on the Ezo [37]

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[34] In 1792 when a Bakufu official conducted an inspection of Karafuto he received reports from the Ezo that frequent trips were being made to that island by Russians and he even met some of them in Karafuto. As a result he reported on the need for keeping a close watch over that area. *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[35] Ichi en jōchi no gi gonaikiku otorikime no gi gyonainaini mishiage sōrō kakitsuke, *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 755 ff.

[a] "The Saghalien trade. . . ."

[38] Trade goods passing from the Santan to the Ezo:

Old clothes of brocade with dragon designs which had previously been the uniforms of Manchurian officials. Called *Bottō* in Santan and *Jittoku* in Matsumae dialect.

Dark blue brocade, cotton cloth.

Red brocade.

Satin, called *Shuri*. The weaver's marking appear on them.

Yellow brocade.

Blue beads in large and small sizes, purple in color and with crysanthemum shapes.

Chinese coins of the Ch'ien lung and K'ang Hsi periods.

Smoking pipes similar to those used by the Chinese at Nagasaki.

Trade goods passing from the Ezo to the Santan:

Fox, seal and otter skins.

Japanese Yellow Marten [Martes Melampos] (the black ones were most valued).

Iron goods. The Santan valued iron and the reason is believed that either iron from Manchuria was scarce or that the fierce nature of the Santan demanded a large supply of weapons material. Axes, Ezo swords (the swords presented to the Ezo by the Matsumae), needles.

Sake, tobacco. Kondō Juzo, *Henyō Bunkai Zukō* (Illustrated treatise on the frontiers) 3 in *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1.

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[37] A good example is the fact that a species of earthenware called Ōtsuku type is found in Karafuto and in Northeastern Hokkaidō as far as the Kuriles and articles excavated together with such earthenware show a striking contrast to what is found in the Southwestern part of Hokkaidō.

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F A *648 681 656 671 *175 the formation of groups was prohibited, and one who informed the authorities of such illegal societies was to be exculpated from his own offenses including even membership in such a group. The Ezo were instructed that on the occasion of *Omusha* they should present to the managers any disputes which they were unable to settle among themselves.[50] It is a very difficult thing to enact legislation for people of a different race, language, customs, and cultural standards, for if the law is not brought into line with their habits, it can exist only nominally and, if the law is forced on these people, they will rebel and the result will be contrary to the original purpose of the laws.

A F 671 177 *648 *175 [622] 681 Hayashi's three brief and simple laws were an attempt to avoid conflict with native custom. However, it is doubtful that these laws were fully carried out among the Ezo. While the Ezo chiefs were gradually losing their power to the Japanese, they still had great authority in their own villages and they were the law, and control of the Ezo still lay in the hands of their chiefs. Furthermore, the Bakufu was exceedingly careful not to arouse antagonism by destroying through law any ancient customs and it intended to work through the chiefs rather than to snatch their power from them. The death penalty in article two presented an awkward problem since the imposition of a penalty of death was ——— distasteful to the Ezo.

natives. However, without any laws there would be no way to punish violent conduct and those in the wrong. It is, therefore, proposed that the Three Articles of Law enacted by the founder of the Han Dynasty upon his arrival in Shensi when he overthrew the despotic rule of Ch'in be adopted and that an additional article be added prohibiting perverted religion since Ezo is contiguous to Russian territory. These articles conform with the laws of Japan and will prevent any wrongdoing in the future. Furthermore, they are based on authority which fact will, no doubt, satisfy all parties concerned in the matter. The three articles mentioned are actually two articles which deal with three different matters and they state: 'The death penalty shall be invoked for murder'; 'Persons inflicting injury on others and persons committing robbery shall be punished'; and 'The infliction of injuries on others may be due to various reasons, some good and others bad. Degrees of robbery also vary. Therefore, a fixed punishment cannot be set beforehand. When a person has committed either one of these three things, he has violated the law but the extent to which he shall be punished must be decided after the fact.' Considering the possibility of adapting to present-day use some of the olden punishments, we find that for those who committed serious crimes, there were such penalties as cutting off the hair and hulling rice by mortar and pestle; that is, the guilty paid for their crime by manual labor. These penalties are no longer in existence but it would be an excellent idea, in my opinion, to set a certain length of time, say three or five years, as punishment for persons who inflict injuries on others or who commit robbery. During that period the convicts shall have their heads shaved and will be put to hard work constructing roads or cultivating land in order to pay for their crimes. They are to be set free when they have served their time. Other misdemeanors not covered by this law may be punished in the same manner with the length of sentence running from six months to one year." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1. *SHS* 5: 568–569.

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[50] Refer to Etorofu Omusha moshiwatashi no koto (Instructions on *Omusha* at Etorofu).

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INTRODUCTION

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

In order to get a clear understanding of the meaning of what has been written in some of the chapters contained in this book, it is necessary to be acquainted with a few of the chief fundamental principles of Ainu esoteric philosophy, religious belief, and superstition. Without some such knowledge, the perusal of this book will most likely render this peculiar race more enigmatical and incomprehensible than ever. It is therefore the purpose of what now follows to set forth briefly such fundamentals as may be useful to the reader in explaining some of the lore of the Ainu people and the references to their ancient customs. 121

First, as regards man himself. There is a great difference between the Ainu conception of man and our own. We speak of him as being of a tripartite nature, namely, body, soul, and spirit. But the Ainu speak of him as being of a simple dual nature, viz. soul and body. With them, the body is an appanage or mere shell. It is as a garment to be cast off presently. A house, so to speak, in which a person lives and moves, and by means of which he acts for a short time only. It will cease to be, but the real man will live for ever. Immortality is not imposed upon him but is naturally inherent. It is a part—the chief part—of him. When, therefore, in this book a person is said to die or get killed, it can refer only to the body. He may be killed in war, for example, but he may very easily immediately assume another human form and reappear to carry on the fight and be killed again and again. 826 171 761 775

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there are to be found many points of contact in their psychic and religious beliefs. It is this, in part, which binds us together.

There can be no doubt that the Ainu now living are the last remnant of one of the old aboriginal races formerly occupying Japan. They were here when the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and his retainers crossed from Kyūshū to Yamato about 660 B. C. The origin of the race is lost in obscurity. The old traditions, still current among some folk, of their descent from brute beasts are incredible. But their language seems to point, both in vocabulary and grammar, to an Aryan ancestry.

The present habitat of the Ainu is the southern half of Saghalien and Hokkaidō. The largest numbers of them are to be found in Hidaka, Tokachi, and Ifuri-koku. But place-names prove them to have once inhabited the whole of Japan. It appears that at first the Japanese called them *Tsuchi-gumo* which, when written with the Chinese characters, means "Earth-spiders." They also called them *Ebisu* or *Emisu* which means "Barbarians." But when properly analyzed, the old name Tsuchi-gumo or "Earth-spiders" comes to mean, in Ainu, "Pit-dwellers." This is exactly what the ancient Ainu of Hokkaidō and Saghalien were during the cold seasons of the year.

It is pertinent to remark here that many of the place-names throughout the whole of Japan show an Ainu origin. The beautiful Mount Fuji, formerly an active volcano, is one of these, for its name in the Ainu tongue really means "Ancestress" and "Fire Goddess." Fire is always called *Fuji* by this people when worshipped, but at other times its name in Hokkaidō is *Abe*. In ancestor worship, the men always worship the mother of the race in the fire upon the hearth under the name *Fuji*, "Grand-mother." Subashiri, at the foot of Fuji, means in Ainu "Steaming-land."

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CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE AINU

On coming to Hokkaidō, a visitor will probably be surprised to find that as a rule the skin of the Ainu, both men and women, is lighter than that of the ordinary Japanese, particularly of the South. Yet a few will be found among them of a coppery brown colour and some quite dark like the North American Indians and natives of Alaska. One young Ainu man who a few years ago went to Alaska hunting otters and who had been detained by the American authorities as a poacher, declared to me, when he returned, that some of the words the Alaska Indians used were very like his own. But, as he had quite forgotten which they were, I was unable to compare. Knowing nothing of the language of that people, I can offer no opinion. And, I will add, some of our visiting friends have remarked, "Why, the Ainu are just like North American Indians." It may be so. I cannot tell.

In stature the people are moderately short, the men averaging five feet five inches and the women five feet in height. Those less than this are said by some to be descendants of the so-called dwarfs to be mentioned later. These are called "short backed people." They are sturdy and well set up. Their arms and legs are thick and their feet and hands big. Their muscles are large and they have well developed chests and great width of shoulders. The hair of the head is prolific and coarse, its colour being black and brown. They have beautiful teeth and large round, bright brown and dark eyes. They are upright in

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head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion.

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way

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144 of keeping up the numbers of this race. Without it the [397] Ainu would have been extinct long ere this. I have known many of the women come to Sapporo, stay a day or two with us, bring in nice fat Japanese babies for us to admire, and then go off to their homes, happily carrying them with them and registering them as their own native-born Ainu children. No wonder, then, the people resemble one another in many instances.

157 A friend called on me one day a short time ago, who had been to see one of the Ainu villages. In the course of conversation he said, "Are not these Ainu a very sullen and taciturn people? They struck me as being so." To such a person I must say, "No, the healthy ones are far from it, being quite bright." But times are difficult with them. They have to work very hard [511] and sometimes wonder where the next meal is coming ●171] from. It is a very hand to mouth existence with many of them. Yet life for these people is not so hard as I believe it to be for many of the poorer Japanese living in the large cities such as Tokyo or Osaka, Hakodate, or even Sapporo itself. The struggle for existence is not so great, and some of the Ainu who have seen for themselves know this to be so. It is generally hard drinking which is the great drawback and arch-enemy. Take away the drink and then the Ainu will very soon be quite a happy, contented, and well-to-do people.

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Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war.

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"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him.

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* The coffins were left with the tops above ground.

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**Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty.

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CHAPTER VII

WOMEN AND THEIR TATTOOING

The first thing which struck me on coming to Ainu-land, as indeed it has struck others before and since, was the dreadful tattoo markings to be seen on the women, particularly round their mouths. To me it looked hideous, while by them it was, no doubt, thought to enhance their beauty. Seen at a distance, it makes them look for all the world like men. It is placed on the lips, hands and arms, and in some districts across the forehead as well. The custom will soon be a thing of the past, as none of the children are now being tattooed. It is done by incision as among the Melanesians, and not by pricking, as among the Japanese. As long as thirty years ago, and from time to time since, young women have on occasion come and asked me to take the marks out for them if possible. They had begun to look upon the practice as a sign of barbarism and were growing quite ashamed of the old custom. I was sorry for them, but having been cut in with knives, they were marked for life. Some of them even wept when I told them it was impossible to remove the stains. I will give an example of a conversation I had one day with a woman about twenty-five years of age.

Self. You have something you wish to say to me. Please tell me what it is.

Woman. Yes, Sir. I have come to ask you if you will kindly take out my tattoo marks.

Self. But why do you wish to have them removed?

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242 829 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to [178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 562 462 In the winter time, particularly during the latter part of November and the early part of December, the women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so, [461 ● 171] for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especially after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and so paying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

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AB6 Ainu AB6

562 576 across the upper lip close under her nose and ended by stroking and smoothing the forelocks of her hair back behind her ears with her hands. Such was the general mode of salutation practised by the women. It was a tedious matter, though graceful in its way. But such salutations are now being superseded by the [178] Japanese methods, though in rare cases the older women still keep up the practice.

When the women have been away from their homes for a year or two and upon their return meet with their sisters and other female friends and relatives, they appear to take great delight in seizing one another with a firm grip by the shoulders and weeping profusely on each others' necks. I have seen women in this position for fully half an hour on end. While doing this they chant to one another and in a sing-song manner make known their whole personal history, and that of their friends, since they last met. Several times have we been kept awaiting our dinner for an hour or more while our servants have been engaged in this peculiar employment! Even the men do this performance at times among themselves; and it used to be common to see a father and daughter sitting in front of one another, the former holding the latter's hands lovingly in his own; even the men so greeted one another sometimes. They all seemed to be very fond of one another and waxed quite hysterical over it on occasion. I did not mind their doing this, but I'm afraid we did not like being kept for hours with nothing to eat after a long ride, when we were hungry. For when these people get worked up there is no doing anything with them. They go clean off their heads for a while. The children were greeted by merely having their heads stroked.

576 171 I am persuaded that this tearful greeting is not all of it natural, nor is it entirely conventional. It seems to me to be a mixture of each. It is simply "old custom." When in New Zealand a few years ago, I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

found that even there a somewhat similar custom was kept up by the Maoris. They, men and women too, cry outright and hug and kiss friends who are about to depart on a journey or have just returned from one, and this proceeding lasts for quite a long time on occasion. In India, also, among the Chauhans of the Central Provinces, the women weep on one anothers' necks when they meet after a long separation. And when they thus weep it is a point of etiquette that the elder should stop first and then beg her companion to do so. But if it is doubtful which is the elder, they sometimes go on for a very long time exciting the young spectators to mirth, until at length some elder steps forward and tells them to stop.

Continuing his instruction, my chief said, "Never enter a house with your shoes on; be sure to take your hat off; never rush in or out of a house, but go quietly and gravely; never look into a house through a window; treat the east-end window as very sacred; never throw anything out of any window; never throw anything into the fire; do not touch another person's fire; do not go eavesdropping; never address a stranger unless he first speaks to you; if it is necessary to address a stranger, first say, 'Your Honour'; when you meet another person step off the path and let him have the right of way; let a woman always, when she meets a man, take off her head-dress, cover her mouth with her hand, step to one side and look upon the ground; let her even turn sidewise; never strike a burning log upon the hearth; never turn the point of any edged tool toward the fire; never by any means allow human hair or nail parings to fall upon the hearth," and so forth. Such were old Penri's rules of etiquette and I think I never lost anything by being careful to conform to them as much as possible.

One day an interesting thing happened while I was in Penri's house. A Japanese traveller came in to have an argument with me on Christianity, for he did

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and propitiated. It must be sent away with much *sake* and many dumplings (made of millet and rice, in this instance) and so be persuaded to give its ancestors a good account of its treatment while upon earth. And in the other world, taking the essence of the vianda then offered, it was to make another feast for those gone before. Thus, then, the village mascot had died, and yet it lived. And now for the story of my present.

A short time ago a Japanese farmer, 60 years of age, came with a friend and asked if I would try to take away a big hard lump he had growing over his ribs, for he did not like to undergo the operation his doctor proposed. He was afraid he would not get over it. My treatment was successful, so that happily he was soon quite himself again. And he was very much rejoiced. Shortly afterwards he sent me by a friend a beautifully carved kite which he had done himself. It was a thank-offering to me for what I had done for him. I thought it was a very quaint gift, and made inquiries as to what it meant. I was informed that the farmers of his district often made these things for themselves and special friends as talismans. To keep such would be sure to bring good luck. And so my farmer thus wished me happiness and prosperity. This is how I came by my mascot.

It will be remembered, no doubt, that just as Admiral Togo was about to attack the Russian fleet in the 38th year of Meiji, a hawk came and settled on his flagship. This was taken as a great good omen and sent a thrill of joy and confidence not only throughout the navy and army but through the hearts and homes of the people of the whole Empire. I was here in Sapporo at the time and saw the result. The incident braced the people with courage, strengthened their will, and inspired them with assured faith and hope. We know what the result was. The enemy fleet was sunk. With this incident in mind I can well understand the old man's meaning.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XVII

ABOUT EARTHQUAKES

We have just had a slight earthquake and though they are neither so strong nor frequent as in the South of Japan they are by no means unknown in Hokkaidō. I have experienced several rather severe ones here, but none big enough to shake houses down, and I have only had to run out of doors twice in fifty years. But one never knows when a really bad one may happen upon us. 133 171

Many years ago we got a good shaking when I was in Piratori with the chief of that village. Penri was a fine, brave man, but could not stand snakes and earthquakes. Snakes, because one had bitten him when younger, earthquakes because he could not hold them or punish them. When our shake-up came, I saw him lift his head and look quite scared. The hut was rocking to and fro at a great rate, and the floor was heaving up and down as though the waves of the sea were chasing one another under the ground. "What is it?" I asked. "A mighty earthquake," answered he. We both thought the hut would come down. But fortunately it did not do so. But even had it fallen, it would not have mattered much. Huts are so light, made of simple posts and thatch as they are, that unless the posts are rotten there can be no danger of falling. Even if they did fall, it would only mean the roof dropping bodily down to the ground and settling there. Unless a person came into contact with a rafter or one of the beams as it fell, he would be in no danger. All the harm that could possibly come 133

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RY2

ing hour together, comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut BV2

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ever knows what kind of temper the "Old Man Fire" may be in, as he sits there burning upon the hearth, it behoves everyone to conciliate him often by offering him little gifts, for he is a very jealous one. He is said to love fat, butter and cream better than anything else.

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As regards firelight, there are two interesting taboos connected therewith. No young man may pass beyond the strip of light which falls from the household fire, to cross over to the women's side of the hearth; nor may any woman, if she can possibly avoid it, pass through the strip of light in front of the hearth. Any transgression of these two taboos would bring dire trouble, the Yakuts believe.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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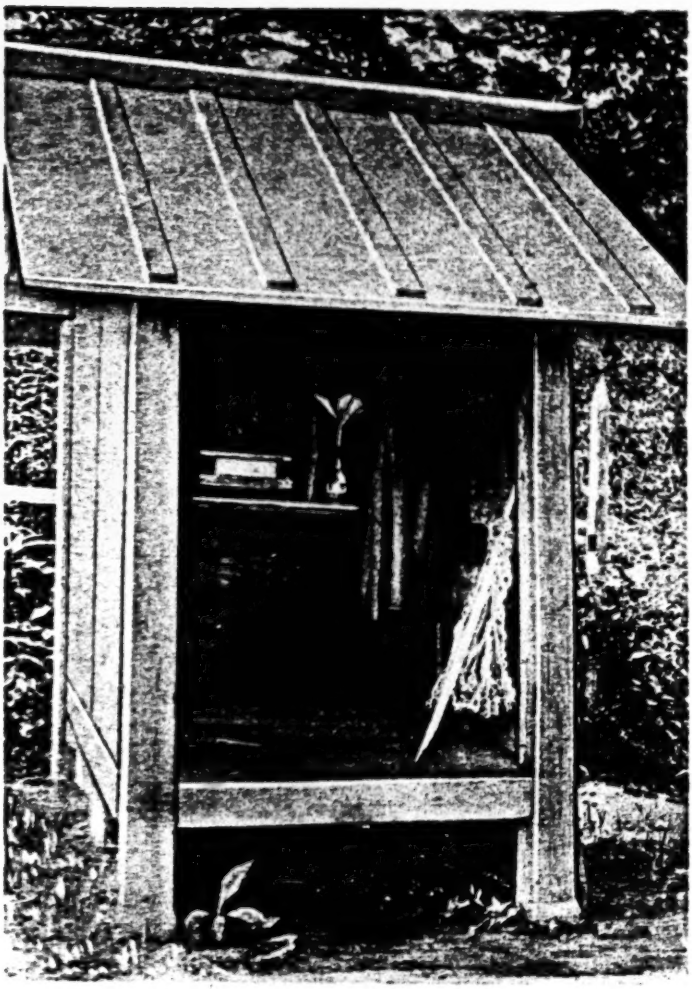

SHRINE OF YOSHITSUNE
(The fetish in front is the only Ainu thing about it.)

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

A 796 [782]

drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.

Fig. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

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In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

A 796 535

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an exhaustive account of these people.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

piteously. The most trying part for me was, of course, to keep serious during this long tragi-comic performance, and I was indeed glad when it was all over; when my supremacy was acknowledged, and my immunity from further insult secured; when submission had been made, and such whips and stings of outrageous fortune as might come from the painting of a fish had been humbly accepted.

The Ainu are gentle and mild by nature, but, like all ignorant people, they are extremely superstitious, and superstition is a powerful excitant. Nevertheless, they are good people in their own way, and it must not be inferred from this small experience of mine that they are bullies, for they are not. The superstition regarding the reproduction of images is common all through the East, with the exception of the Japanese, and in many parts of Europe itself strange ideas are connected with portrait-painting. In Spain or Italy many a girl of the lower classes would think herself dishonoured if she happened to be sketched unawares, or if her picture were shown without the consent of her parents, brothers, relatives, and the parish priest.

However, these Horobets Ainu are said, since civilisation has set in in that part of Yezo, of late years to have become untrustworthy and violent. They are more given to drunkenness than their neighbours, as they can procure from the Japanese stronger beverages than their own. *Sake* (Japanese wine) of inferior quality is sold and exchanged in large quantities, and has the same fatal effects on them as rum—our fire-water—had on the American Indians.

I was not sorry to leave a village which had displayed so little appreciation of my art. I took two ponies and two pack-saddles, to one of which was lashed my baggage, while I sat on the other. Riding is a delightful pastime when you have a good horse and a good saddle; but not when you have to look after two vicious animals, and are yourself perched on a rough wooden pack-saddle. Moreover, Ainu pack-saddles are perhaps the most uncomfortable of their kind. The illustration shows one of them. It is made with a rough, solid wooden frame, of which the front and back parts are semi-circular. One large hole is perforated in each of these to allow ropes to be passed through. Under this frame are two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife —three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu— was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I consider this to be the original cause why this artistic insight is to be found even among the lowest classes. The Ainu have no such insight; they have no characters, no writing of any kind, no books, and it is therefore not astonishing that they are not trained to understand art, bad as it may have been in my case. Their appreciation of lines is yet in the rudest form, and they possess no more than what is instinctive with them. For instance, while I was sketching, Benry and his friend either sat or crouched down by my side like two dogs, and when my sketch was finished I showed it to them.

"Pirika, Pirika! Nishpa!" ("Very pretty, very pretty, sir!") Benry exclaimed with perfect self-assurance; but when I asked him what he thought the sketch represented, he cut me short by saying that *I* had done the picture and *I* ought to know what it was meant for; he did not. His friend agreed with him.

When my work was done we three walked back to Benry's house, my two Ainu friends being very anxious that I should get something to eat. From their conversation and gestures I caught that it seemed incomprehensible to them that I should sit in front of an Ainu hut and—to use their expression—"make all sorts of signs on a wooden panel." After a lengthy discussion the two came to the conclusion that houses in our country were so bad that I had been sent to the Ainu country to "copy" the pattern of Ainu huts!

Benry seemed excited about something, and hurried us back with curious haste and eagerness. When we left the house in the morning I saw Benry's better-half placing a few eggs in water to boil over the fire. When we entered the hut, nearly two hours afterwards, the eggs were still boiling, and no fair maid within yelling reach. In order that the fire might not go out during her absence the thoughtful girl had placed the largest portion of the trunk of a tree in the fireplace!

Taken altogether, Benry and all his Saru Ainu are very good-natured. They gradually got accustomed to being sketched, seeing that after all it really did not bring on them "immediate death."

The more one sees of the Ainu the dirtier they appear, but as dirt to a great extent contributes to picturesqueness, I was

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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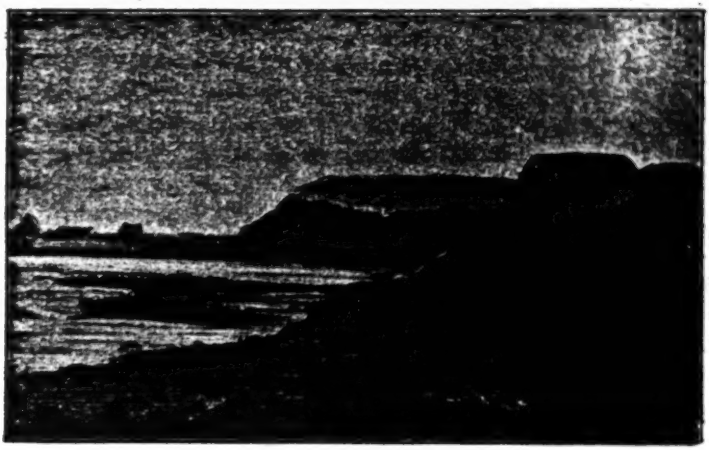

KORO-POK-KURU PORT.

CHAPTER IX.

The Koro-pok-kuru, or Pit-dwellers.

122 ALL over Yezo and the Kurile Islands remains of an extinct race of pit-dwellers are to be seen. It is especially near lakes and swamps or along the coast that rectangular, circular, and elliptical pits are numerous, but square pits are not so common. None of these pits have yet been discovered on the main island [111] of Nippon, but many are still to be found as far south as Hakodate, in Yezo. On the east and north-east side of the peak, at the latter port, these pits, flint implements, and rude pottery, mostly in fragments, are met with in great abundance. The implements consist mostly of arrow-heads, stone adzes,

FLINT ARROW-HEADS.

hammers, flint knives, and round pebbles, which were used as war ammunition. The arrow-heads vary in size, length, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down.

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion.

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit.

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

difference in colour where it has been affected by the weather and where not, thus giving a distinct clue of some passer-by, man or brute; and when once you have found what the characteristics of the tracks are, the most difficult part of the task is accomplished.

On weather-beaten rocks the trail is more difficult to strike, and more difficult still on rocks over which the sea washes. "For," say the simple people, "how can you see tracks on hard stone? The foot certainly does not leave a print on rocks as on sand; and even supposing that the feet were dirty, the sea would wash away the marks, and you could not see anything."

In my case I limited my search to bare-footed marks, as the Ainu generally go bare-footed. Everybody knows that dogs track by scent, and this is a sure proof that every footmark must have a certain special odour, however infinitesimal. When we remember that the act of walking makes the feet warm and perspire, it is easy to understand that this perspiration, which is a greasy substance, leaves a mark on the stone—though to be sure it is sometimes almost imperceptible, especially when quite fresh. But most of us, when children at school, have noticed that touching a slate with moist fingers leaves a greasy mark, which could not be rubbed off again. The same thing happens when we tread on stones with bare feet. If the sea washes over the stones after the greasy impression has been thus made on them, it does nothing but accentuate these marks, and show them more plainly, as the salt water acts in one way on the untouched parts of the stone, but in a different way where the grease has been absorbed. These marks are generally very faint, and it requires some training before they can be discerned; but when the knack is once acquired, they become evident enough. To an observant eye, and with a little practice, it is not difficult to perceive whether one or more persons have tramped on a given place, and in what direction they have travelled. The marks on stones which are washed over by the sea are usually of a lightish colour.

I could almost invariably distinguish the footmarks of an Ainu from those of a Japanese, as the Ainu take longer strides, and their toes are longer than those of the Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 and sentimental, but verily diabolical, consisting mainly of
755 wild howling with an accompaniment of stamping feet and the rattling of sword and knife, and followed by a disgusting expectoration of chewed convolvulus roots, which are said to be powerful in expelling the evil spirit and restoring the sick person to health.

461 Furthermore, music is invariably used by the Ainu—
533 especially by the women—to facilitate manual labour, as when pounding millet, rowing, pulling canoes on shore, or drawing water from a well, when packing sea-weed, or when preparing salmon for the winter; and also in their games, which I have already described in the chapter on the festival at Piratori.

461 During the process of pounding millet—which is only prac-
[190] tised in the southern part of Yezo—two or three girls stand
352 round a mortar in which the millet has been placed, and each
533 girl, holding with both hands a pestle, beats and sings, one after the other, the words "*Huye, huye,*" as the pestle is let down, increasing in loudness when the grain requires harder pounding, and slowly decreasing in volume towards the end. This pounding begins about sunset, and the place chosen for the operation is generally the small porch of the huts. It has indeed a weird effect to hear these many voices from the distant huts gradually dying away as darkness comes on, till finally only two or three break the stillness of the coming night. Then even those wear away, and everything becomes as silent as the grave.

461 When riding on horseback, especially if alone, young men
490a are fond of singing, and when going through forests, chopping
533 and collecting firewood, Ainu invariably sing.

I have often heard two or three Ainu, when packing sea-weed within a few yards of one another, each singing to himself, and each so much absorbed in his own composition as not to even hear his neighbours. An Ainu does not and cannot sing unless he feels in the mood for it; but if he sings he is carried away by his own music. Of course this is a good quality in Ainu music, as in all arts where "feeling" is to be appreciated as much as execution. The latter is to be got by constant practice and teaching; but the first has to be born in one.

123 My readers must forgive me if I am judging Ainu music,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

as life itself depends mostly on their accuracy and acuteness. The Ainu possess good sight. Inflammation of the eyes is very common among their children, owing to their filthy condition; but it seldom affects their permanent sight; very few Ainu suffer either from myopy or cataract, or other eye affections such as are frequent among civilised and more studious nations. In very warm climates, where the sun is powerful and the light strong, the eyes are generally shielded by specially long and thick eyelashes and eyebrows, which last prevent the sweat from running down the forehead into the orbit; but, strange to say, the Ainu, who are a northern race, and have always lived in cold climates, have eyelashes even longer and thicker than any race of people in tropical climates. The iris is of a somewhat greyish tint, sometimes traversed with brown shades. The white of the eye is less pearly than with Caucasian races, and the eyes, shaded as they are by long eyelashes and heavy eyelids, seem to possess all the qualities necessary for abnormally long vision. And this we find to be the case, for the Ainu can distinguish objects a long way off, but they are dense as to minutiæ. In other words, the eye of an Ainu is ready to receive an impression, but very slow in transmitting to the brain the impression received.

As we have seen, they cannot reproduce the "human form divine," or any faithful representation of anything animate or inanimate which they have seen. They see *en gros;* thus, should an Ainu's attention be drawn to some very distant object rapidly moving on the shore, he will at once say that it is a horse, because he knows that the chances are it is a horse, but he will be unable to describe its colour, and whether cantering or galloping, saddled or unsaddled, by a single glance at the horse, unless his attention is called to each particular detail, when he will answer each question correctly enough. The Ainu vision is then strong, but the brain is not quick in response. Testing their sight by "test dots," as used in the British Army, was not a success, greatly owing to their inability to count and the inaccuracy of their answers.

The most fully-developed sense in the hairy people is, in my opinion, that of hearing. Distant sounds are clearly recognised and specified, and they are also aware that by placing one ear near the ground, far-off sounds of horse's hoofs and the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new *inao* are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the individual whose body they think has been taken possession of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

visited the house again. Italian and Spanish women and children almost invariably carry charms round their necks, that are to keep them safe from harm; and, furthermore, when a child falls ill, one or more red rags are fastened to its bed before a doctor is sent for. Then, again, people suffering from epileptic fits have often been supposed to be "possessed," and beaten to death or burnt alive, so that the evil spirit which was in them should thus be destroyed. It must be borne in mind that not many centuries ago similar beliefs were prevalent even in free and enlightened England.

If we compare these beliefs with those of the Ainu, we find that they differ very little either in form or substance. In place of the witches which our own ancestors, modern Italians, and Spaniards, and some benighted peasantry still to be found in the West of England, believed, and do still believe in, the Ainu have imaginary animals or evil spirits. The wands and red rags of our Latin neighbours are represented by their *inao;* and our lucky horseshoe is with them the horizontal *inao.* Charms are worn by the Ainu men, women, and children; and when going to war or to hunt the men carry a block of wood to which their knife or sword is attached, and on the right-hand side of which hangs a small *inao.*

These blocks of wood are flattened, and are elliptical at both ends. Their length varies from four to fifteen inches, and sometimes ornaments—generally circles—are carved on them. A string is fastened on one side so as to sling them to the shoulder; but they are usually carried under the arm. They are supposed to protect the carrier from accidents, and also to bring him good fortune.

We see, then, that similar ideas are entertained by utterly different peoples thousands of miles distant from one another; and that certain superstitious beliefs left on this side of the globe find their parallel among the hairy people on the other. Of course with them it is natural that their beliefs should count for more than with Europeans, as civilisation has not in any way enlarged or improved their minds; but it seems to me unfair that the same identical beliefs should go under the name of *superstitions* when applied to Europeans, and called the "Ainu religion" when practised by the hairy inhabitants of Northern Japan. Though to this I know it may be replied

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

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THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui, provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by something, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui are objects of worship.

The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical*. There is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui." Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

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fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt, inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the purpose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1 [The inau cult -- Analyst]

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778 (" sacrifice "), — and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* (" tree ") and *ay* (" tongue "). Thus *inau* signifies literally " a tree's tongue."

Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, inau are " shaved " trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere " tongues " before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the " shaved " trees in front of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

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the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness. The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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THE INAU

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

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An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

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Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

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The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

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In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield.

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin.

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight.

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are *not* offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

EFFIGIES

778 776 532 773 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 776 532 [789] [171] Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby conflagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 776 552 532 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indicates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

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[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

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been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon employed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

[2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

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associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population.

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid.

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage.

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors.

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV).

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapochi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and accurate gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[171] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
781 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

841 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

841 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
896 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

9: Lavrov--1 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2
A G /32/
532 •171

The exceptional ornamental richness of the representative art of the peoples inhabiting the basin of the Amur river and Sakhalin Island, the variety and perfection of their traditional methods of artistic workmanship in wood, birch-bark, bone, fish skins, furs and threads have, on innumerable occasions, attracted the attention of students of Siberia and the Far East. Unified in their general features while infinitely varied in the execution of details, the arts of the Nanai (Goldi), the Nivkhi (Gilyak), the Ulchi, the Orochi, the Ainu, and of other peoples are distinguished by the perfection of method and the stability of form, which bear witness to the continuity of the representative themes and the ornamental motives that provide the basis for the decorative compositions. Description and representation of ornamentation in the dress, household utensils, boats, houses, and grave monuments are to be found in the works of Schrenk (1) Laufer, Shternberg, (2) Lopatin, (3) and also the investigations

A G 532 114 A G [113]

1. L. Schrenk. Die Völker des Amur-Landes, St. Petersburg, 1903.

2. L. Y. Shternberg, Aĭnskaĭa Problema (The Ainu Problem). Sbornik Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii, Vol. VIII, 1929.

3. I. Lopatin. Goldy, Vladivostok, 1922.

by Ivanov (4) of the religious and secular plastic art and orna-

A G [113]

4. S.S.V. Ivanov. Ornamentika i obriady, sviazannye s Amurskoĭ lodkoĭ (The Ornamentation and Ritual connected with the Amur Boat).

9: Lavrov--2 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6 •
Gilyak RX2

/32 cont./

Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1935, No. 4-5; Medved' v iskusstve narodnostei Amura (The Bear in the Art of the Amur Peoples). Sbornik V.G. Bogoras, 1937.

A G 532 114 [13]

A G 532 114 • 171

mentation of the Amur peoples. Thanks to the work of the above mentioned authors one can form a fairly accurate idea about the stylistic and thematic originality of this remarkable centre of popular decorative art, which forms a link in the chain that extends from the south to the north-east of the Pacific ocean and which, in the past, may have connected the neolithic cultures of Asia with the ancient peoples of the extreme end of the north-east and north-west of America. If there are still many unclear and debatable links in that chain, one may hope, that the increasing scope of work of the North-eastern Expedition of the Amur Peoples of the USSR will help to untie the complex knot of ethnic and historical relationships in the Amur basin and on the North-eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean. Having been twice a participant in the work of the expedition - on the Chikotka in 1945 and in the Lower reaches of the Amur and in the South Sakhalin in 1947--and as a member of the Institute of Art Industries I had the task of investigating the forgotten and the presently existing artistic crafts and of taking measures for their re-juvenation and development. At the same time, I /33/ studied the problems of style, genesis, development and of the spread of the ornamental forms.

A G 114 121 532

The Amur-Sakhalin expedition collected a considerable amount of material dealing with the representative art of the Nanai, the Ulchi, the Nivkhi, the Orochi and the Ainu peoples. In the present report I will describe only some typical forms of the Nivkhi and the Ainu ornamentation and of their religious and secular sculpture, in order to throw a new light on the questions of the origin of the "Gilyak Bear Vessels," and on the band and string ornamentation in the Ainu Bear sculpture.

/36 cont./

532 825 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).

2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A Small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

192 532 825 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka. L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance

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532 825 178 [113]

5. See L. Y. Shternberg. Aĭnskaĭa Problema (The Ainu

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[113]

/37 cont./

problem). Sbornik, Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

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Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi, the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

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Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed before the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

[171]

/37 cont./

532 worship of heads), practiced widely throughout Siberia, rather
825 than the locally limited and in its ideology more complex
•171 "holiday of the bear" which is connected with the keeping of the bear in a wooden cage and with the ceremonial killing of the animal. If this hypothesis is correct, the bear themes on the Ainu sticks would seem to be more archaic in their content than the carving on the Nivkhi ladles.

532 The sculptured representation of a swallow (encountered
825 also on wooden scabbards) bound by a uniquely carved fence or ring, is no less a widespread theme of the ikunisi than that of the bear. (Drawing 6, b). Still more frequent are the representations of the swallow placed in string nooses and in the interweaving of bands (Drawing 6, a). In the variant of the latter type a bear's head is frequently represented with that of a swallow. The stability of this composition, and the well developed type of the fence-ring, as well as numerous variations with the string-band interweavings allow the inference that the origin of the swallow theme is independent of the analogous bear compositions. If that is so, one can hardly connect the origin of the string-band ornament with the bear theme alone. I may add here, that not only the swallow, but also the presence of the beaver and the seal in the ornamental interweavings on the ikunisi bear witness to a broader base of origin of the string and band motives.

532 Let us first attempt to discover the significance of the ikunisi. It is hardly probable that the original function of these sticks with the pictographic /38/ carving and symbolic ornamentation was to support one's moustache while drinking wine. Montandon (6) considers that the term "supporters" (usoderzhateli)

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6. G. Montandon, La civilisation Ainou. Paris, 1937.

used by the ethnographers describes the Ainu sticks only as objects of "contemporary toilet" of a person and does not

/38 cont./

532 explain their ritual significance. However, Montandon's calling them "sticks for libation" also does not reveal the original function of these mysterious objects.

532 224 211 •171 It is interesting to compare the ikunisi with the pictographic drawings on wooden boards by the shore Chukchee and with the Eskimo carvings on objects made of bone. The Chukchee and the Eskimo use these objects - the former for the commemoration of the results of a successful hunt (representing the killed animals and the actual scenes from the hunt), the latter for "the invocation of the forces of Nature producing food." Were not the ikunisi also basically commemoration plaques on which were marked the number of animals killed in a hunt and the circumstances under which the killing was accomplished? It is typical that almost all "ikunisi" generally have simple notches (varying in number) cut in at the end of the sticks. Also encountered are sticks having only notches, with neither representations nor ornament on them.

532 In spite of the astonishing variety of the artistic variations, the Ainu ornamentation stubbornly preserves its original motives. The various phases of the artistic development of these motives help to trace out and discover their material and ideological base. The investigators who have studied the Ainu art have [114] various explanations of the content and origin of the Ainu ornamentation. In the works of Shurts, Laufer, Montandon, and especially in those of Shternberg one may come across interesting observations and hypotheses, although in some cases (Shurts and Montandon) these are not always well founded. Since in the present article I have no opportunity to analyse all the basic motives of the Ainu ornamentation described by these authors or discovered by us I shall dwell only on two, which in our opinion are most frequently encountered. Such basic motives are a string woven of bast or some other material and the twisting and interweaving snakes. (7) The motives developed on

[113] 7. The development of the form of the Ainu ornamentation from

532 /38 cont./
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the snakes has been discovered and traced by L. Y. Shternberg, in Aĭnskaĭa problema (The Ainu Problem), Sbornik Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii, Akademiia Nauk SSR, Vol. VIII, 1929.

these bases are so similar in their plastic qualities that one involuntarily wishes to recognize only one of the above mentioned bases as the original one and the motive connected with it as primary, and to call the other base a derivative from the first. However, a very essential difference in the bases themselves
[825] gives us no right to make such a generalization. The basis for the motive of the twisting and interweaving snakes is the religious concept of the divine essence of snakes, which is the imagination transformed reflection of the real struggle waged by men against snakes in southern latitudes. The string ornamentation develcped on the basis of practical activities of tying and untying. In the decorative compositions the two motives interpenetrate and, at times, are completely indistinguishable.

Varieties of interweaving, nooses, and skillfully tied knots of strings and bands (snakes) form the most widespread forms of the Ainu ornamentation. (Drawing 6, v, g, d). The string and band ornament is connected with the representations of animals, binding them with the surface of the decorated object. Breaking apart the ornament may get separated into a series of geometric figures or into a variety of curves.

532 /39/ The Ainu undoubtedly hold the first place among the
•171 peoples of Siberia in the artistic quality of their miniature decorative carving. The masterly artistic execution of small surfaces of firm wood (far less frequently of bone and horn surfaces) is brought by the Ainu carvers to a point of virtuosity. The best illustration of this are the decorations on the ikunisi. The compositional variety of ornamental motives and of

A /39 cont./
532 representative themes on these sticks, embodying not only
•171 some decorative elements prevailing on the Sakhalin and the Amur, but also those typical of the art of the hunters of the Arctic, makes it reasonable to suppose that the Ainu artistic culture, serving as a focal point for the convergence of the ancient ornamental traditions of many peoples, is the oldest centre of ornamental art in the north-east of Asia. There is no doubt that this centre exerted an influence on the neighboring peoples, and through them on the more distant cultures.

000 [Because of technical problems, HRAF was unable to reproduce the illustrations in this source for the English translation. Therefore, the researcher will have to refer to the foreign text for the illustrations themselves. For the convenience of the researcher the captions of the illustrations have been translated and are given below. The figure numbers and page numbers refer to the foreign text in Category 116.]

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171 Figure 1, page 33. "Bear ladle" from the village My (collected by the expedition).
532 Nivkhi, Amur estuary.
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Figure 2, page 34. Fragment of a "bear ladle" representing the hide and head of a bear. From the village of My. Nivkhi, Amur estuary.

A
172 Figure 3, page 35. Sculpture representations gathered
532 at ancient places of worship. From
825 the Ainu villages Niita and Sirokham.

A
532 Figure 4, page 37. Fragment of an Ainu stick ikunisi
825 representing a bear head.

Figure 5, page 37. Ainu stick ikunisi with carved bear

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172 342 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background [30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to [148] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The 173 223 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves, the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening served the eagle who was allured

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

indentity with our variety. He writes: "Meuren-chep, n. Silver salmon. Same as Mat-chep" (BATCHELOR, 1926, p. 283); "Mat-chep, n. Silver salmon. Oncorhynchus kisutch (Walb)" (ibid., p. 278). The silver salmon, O. kisutch, also known as 'coho,' occurs in great quantity in the area extending from the North American coasts to Alaska, but it seldom appears in the territorial waters of Japan (ŌSHIMA, 1940, p. 249). It is a very rare species in Japan and has been caught only several times so far in the rivers of Hokkaido (HIKITA, 1956, p. 31). The *meorun chep* or *mata chep*, then, seems a different variety from the silver salmon but may be identified as the 'silvery salmon' on the following evidence. The *meorun chep* or *mata chep* was distinguished by the natives by its silvery colour as against the spawning colour appearing on the common dog-salmon, by its smaller size generally and its arrival with the cold season, that is, late in the period of dog salmon run. It will be seen that all these features are in agreement with those of the variety known in Japan as 'silvery salmon'. The latest researches indicate that the silvery salmon, or 'ginke-sake' as it is called in Japan, is also known as 'mejika', 'ginpika' or 'gira'; it arrives at the end of Oncorhynchus keta's runs in all the rivers in Hokkaido and other regions of Japan ascended by O. keta; the majority found are not full-grown but are fairly small-sized; it undergoes no change of colour for spawning but retains its silvery colour into maturity; finally, its arrival signifies the end of O. keta's runs (SANO, 1947, p. 43). Inference is made that the variety is of the same species as the common dog-salmon but that some physiological variation has brought out the apparent difference (ibid., p. 44). *Meorun chep* is regarded likewise by the Ainu as the same kind as "*shiipe kamuichep*" with the runs that precede it. In the river Chitose or Shikot today at least, the silvery salmon arrives each season mingling with the common dog-salmon and then gradually increases in number till it predominates at the end of the season (SANO, 1946, p. 40), though the ratio of mingling and the time of its appearance varies in different rivers (SANO, 1947, p. 41). For the other Hokkaido rivers no report is available; only it is informed that in the Tokapchi in ca. 1946 a fairly large amount of 'mejika' or silvery salmon were witnessed ascending during December and January in the area around the Chiyota salmon fishery. Such runs were known as "last catch"; but in recent years they have almost ceased to be seen (oral information obtained in 1959 from the Tokapchi Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery).

A case of night-spearing by torchlight employed for a specific species of salmon is found also among the Klallam Indians on the Northwest Coast of North America. The Indians use this method for silver salmon that run from October till December and not for dog-salmon and other species that run earlier (GUNTHER, 1927, pp. 198 and 201). No further details are made known.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11).

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed.

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62).

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

782 exploiting resources in the territory of a different river group. According to Kazari from Otopuke the *ikoro* received as *ashimpe* in relation to those activities was kept and stewarded by the headman and was called *kamui korube*, *kamui*'s property, as distinguished from Ainu's properties. TAKAKURA points out that *ashimpe* is not a mere fine but an offering to *kamui* or an act of giving which expresses one's apology (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 39).

171 82 (70) The building up in this wise of a system of social relations between man and natural phenomena presents a marked contrast to that on the principle of origin or kinship as seen, for instance, in Arunta totemism. The Ainu system is related closely with their way of ordering nature in terms of spatial orientation. In this connection the present writer is deeply interested in the Northwest Coast Indians of North America. A comparison reveals a striking similarity between their beliefs concerning salmon (DRUCKER, 1950, p. 283) and those of the Ainu. Elements reported as native to the Northwest Coast such as 'the belief in the immortality of game' and 'the ritual requirement of honoring captured animals and of returning certain parts' (DRUCKER, 1955, p. 71) are common with the Ainu. The close similarity in form of belief and ritual may conceal a great difference in meaning and function. Yet the present writer cannot but wonder what parts are played in the system of social solidarity between the Northwest Coast Indians and their habitat by such spatial elements as, for instance, laying down the first-caught salmon with heads pointing upstream, throwing pieces of meat in prescribed directions, placing the bear head eastward (DRUCKER, 1950) and the esoteric formula spoken before various rocks and spots that mark the abodes of their spirits (GUNTHER, 1928, p. 143). It is also interesting to see that the Japanese and the Tungus are another peoples who emphasize the ordering of nature spirits on local basis and the establishment of the ritual relationship between man and nature on the principle of local contiguity (WATANABE, 1964).

1: Shternberg--198 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6

II.

Terms and Forms of Kinship

G *601 199 Before proceeding to the kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak itself, it will not be without interest to dwell on the question: to what degree is this nomenclature independent in the formal sense of the word, what is its relationship to the kinship nomenclature of their neighbors -- the Ainu and Tungus peoples of the Priamur krai, and through the latter to the Ural-Altaic group of peoples in general, for in that ceaseless process of mingling which inevitably took place between the Gilyak and their neighbors, borrowings in this field in particular would be noticeable. We shall give below a special sketch of the nomenclature and norms of marriage among the Ainu, as well as among the Tungus peoples. We shall see that these peoples also have classificatory systems of kinship, although considerably different from that of the Gilyak, and it will be all the more interesting to elucidate to what extent these kinship designations resemble each other.

G 121 *601 191

G *601 191 A 601 ● 191 We shall begin with the Ainu. Taking into account a priori the reckoning of kinship through the mother and other sharp features of maternality, in contrast to the agnatic principle of the Gilyak, one could say that there must be little similarity between the kinship designations of the two peoples. Indeed, the only term which has a complete phonetic resemblance is the term "aki," but in Gilyak, as in the Tungus languages, it signifies elder brother, while in Ainu, on the other hand -- younger; thus the correspondence may be completely accidental. Other Ainu terms which sound more or less like the Gilyak, for example, "acha" -- uncle, "nana" -- mother (Kurile Islands) again do not correspond in meaning: the Gilyak "achk" signifies mother-in-law /wife's mother/, aunt, grandmother; "nanakh" -- elder sister. The remaining terms do not have the faintest similarity to each other. One could assume that there would be a much greater

T [601 191]

G *601 171 A T 601 171 [648]

Ainu AB6
Tungus RX5
Gold? RX3

/132 cont./ One could assume that there would be a much greater similarity with Ural-Altaic, especially Tungus idioms, since in both the reckoning of kinship and other peculiarities of their norms, Gilyak marriage is very close to them, and, moreover, the intercourse between these peoples has from distant times been more intimate than with the Ainu. Nevertheless, here, too, the isolated Gilyak language to a significant degree remains true to itself. Only a few terms are so close that they give a basis for assuming reciprocal borrowing. First of all, one's attention is drawn to the term designating the class of elder brothers; Gilyak -- "akand, aka, aki," general Tungus -- /133/ "a'ga, aki," Olcha – "akha, aki," general Turkic – "aga, akyn, akhun." Among the Tungus peoples, in contrast to the Gilyak, this term, in addition to the elder brother, also designates the younger brother of the father, while in Turkic it denotes the brother of the father in general, which in Gilyak has two completely independent names -- "ytk" (father) and "pilang"; the latter term, incidentally, means the same as "a'ga" in Tungus, i.e., elder.

G *601 171 T 601 171 Gi [601] [171]

Furthermore, one may consider as common to all the root "ap, app": in Gilyak -- "app, appyk," among the Tungus peoples (Olcha, Orochi, Orok) -- "apan'ga, ypan'ga," used by both for designating the father-in-law /wife's father/ (by the Gilyak -- also for the brother of the mother), and by the Tungus tribes in many other meanings which do not correspond to the Gilyak terms. Among the Mongols, Turks, and Yakut this root is also encountered in the forms "aba'ga, apa'ga" -- elder brother of the father, "apa" (among other Turks) -- elder sister. About this term "app, appyk" among the Gilyak, one can say with great confidence that in their language it is a direct borrowing, since right alongside of it, other, purely Gilyak terms -- "atk, akhmalk" -- are used, and even more frequently than "appyk," and it is noteworthy that it is on the Amur, where the Gilyak territory borders directly on Tungus territory, that the term "app" is encountered most frequently. Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

Gi T 601 171 G *601 171

/333 cont./

195 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 195 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the 342 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in 354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially 352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground 199 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be 171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113] [129] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

1/4 [i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

/333 cont./

4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

Goldi RX3
Orok
Ainu AB6

Gi 291 294 177 415 /406 cont./

(Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in connection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley (needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instruments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of the same type.

A Gi 177 291 Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities many an emanation from another center of fashion located in Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant trade relations with the Chinese.

A 291 177 [114] [171] [439] I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to add anything new to what has already become known from various sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn, and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of

Ainu ABG
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Samagir

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/406 cont./ straw or grass, and on muddy ground in the villages, wooden shoes such as are not used by either the Gilyak or any other Amur people (2).

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2. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 76 ff. Busse, op. cit., p. 70. Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 27, 28, etc.

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Let us return to the mainland, to the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries. It is self-evident that the individual Samagir living among the Olcha on the Amur or on Lake Udyl in the closest proximity and in constant contact with them have the same clothing as they do. Along the Gorin, however, where they live in more isolation, in denser numbers, and under essentially different conditions, their clothing, too, shows considerable differences. /407/ Instead of fishing, here in the extensive forest wilderness, hunting plays the chief role and provides the people with their foremost means of getting food and clothing. Immediately upon my arrival, in March, 1855, in Ngagha, the chief center of the Samagir on the Gorin, I was struck by their clothing, which differs from that of the Olcha and Gilyak: instead of the dog-fur coats and sealskin robes, everyone was dressed in robes of elk or deer leather, indeed, even the women wore such leather robes instead of the fish-skin robes, usually with green-colored neck and shoulder pieces, which gave the robe a handsome and elegant appearance as long as it was still new and white. For a complete winter outfit a fur coat made of roe-deer, reindeer, or musk-deer skin is worn over it, which one never sees among the Gilyak only rarely and as an exception among the Olcha (1). Like the material, the cut of the clothing

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1. I never encountered a musk-deer coat even among the Olcha.

among the Samagir, in accordance with their way of life, differs in many respects from that of the Amur dwellers. For the hunter roaming on ski through thick underbrush and bushes a short fur or leather robe with tight-fitting sleeves narrowing toward the wrists is required.

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/411 cont./

3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

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5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

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6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

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1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

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1. (cont.)
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

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no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom

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and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

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3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

T 302 171 179 [131]

/415 cont./ southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni, along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuil, etc., where they live in complete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

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1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

A G GT SS 302 171 179 648

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

A G GI SS T 302 171 179 648

/416 cont./

and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

G 301 171

Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7), or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

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Gi 301

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this

1/A [See category 116, p. 1009 -- Analyst]

/454 cont./

226 179 Subsequently, however, just as for seatang fishing (4), they have

4. See p. 674 ff. above.

also learned more efficient methods for the catching of trepang from the Japanese, who pursue these sources of food in the waters of Sakhalin and Jesso with the same zeal as the Chinese (Man-dse) on the opposite Manchurian coast from about Vladimir Bay to the Korean border (5). But though the sea is the principal source of

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5. The center of seatang fishing along the Manchurian coast is Nachodka Bay (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 16). The most and best seatang is taken between it and Olga Bay. That from around Possjet Bay is inferior to this, and all the more so to the Japanese seatang (op. cit., p. 79, note, and p. 89). Vladivostok is famous among the Man-dse on account of the trepang fishing that takes place in its vicinity (op. cit., p. 16). Further information concerning the Man-dse methods of seatang and trepang fishing, the volume and sales of the catch, etc. is to be found, in addition to the periodical named, in Lopatin ("Obzor" iuzhn. chasti primorsk. oblasti vost. Sib. za r. Suifunom" /Survey of the Southern Part of the Maritime Oblast of Eastern Siberia beyond the Suifun River/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, 1864, p. 191), Busse ("Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie /Essay on Farming Conditions in the Amur Region/." -- Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 124. The same in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 91), Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, pp. 86 ff.), and others.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection [231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the [171] above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1)--and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

[113]

1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

[251]

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack
179 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

G SS 276 197 /468 cont./ wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every G [554] [321] well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. ekap." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192 4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439 The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their A [824] own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [171] [127] 1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his A [113] "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, P. 99).

G 492 484 /487 cont./ Just as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G 492 191 194 Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak, is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

A 492 493 [648] Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly the same role as among the Gilyak; even the construction of the sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

A [113]

G [492] [191]

A [191]

1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

E /490 cont./
231 Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality.
171 The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/
174 the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural
E conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the
[492] dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

> 1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

> 2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I know, among any other people.

G Gi A 492 174 171 Gl 177 After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region, the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes, the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all; whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure, through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
[171] The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

796 The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
23 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
152 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,

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7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into
[182] tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[183] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery moss is more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first, or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

/736 cont./

231 it becomes larger, is put in a stronger prison outside the house and
171 built exactly as among the Gilyak, and is fed on fish (1). The

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1. In Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin, Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 79) and Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 285) saw a young bear in almost every Ainu hut.

only way in which an Ainu bear-cage differs from a Gilyak one is that the more or less long poles planted at the corners of the structure, with fine wooden spirals hanging from them, as they were seen by Coen, the helmsman of one of the boats led by Vries in the discovery of Aniwa Bay in 1643 (2), may scarcely be lacking

2. Siebold, Aardr. - en volkenk. toelicht., etc., p. 110.

on it (3).

3. See also Scheube, loc. cit.

796 These poles or sticks with fluttering wooden spirals, called
798 inau or inao by the Ainu of Sakhalin, inabo by those of Jesso, imi-
171 tations of the hei or gohei sticks adorned with strips of paper which are used as symbols of divinity and holiness in the old Japanese kami religion (Sintô /Shinto/) (4), play an important part at the

4. Scheube, loc. cit. . Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

bear festival of the Ainu. Not only the bear's cage, but also the interior of the hut is decorated with them, and they are set up in great number around it and in front of it on a place on the east side of it where the bear is eventually killed. Bamboo leaves

/736 cont./

796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
778 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedicated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke and fragrance produced by buring them and to express to it or its manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their respect and veneration.

796 231 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it [413] has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves. [171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear, more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear, which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of honors.

796 782 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eating of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a libation, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth decorated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedicated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth